RENAISSANCE STUDENT LIFE

THE PAEDOLOGIA OF PETRUS MOSELLANUS

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TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

BY

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TO

MY COLLEAGUE

HARRISON EDWARD CUNNINGHAM

PREFACE

The colloquies of Petrus Mosellanus, first published in 1518, under the title *Paedologia*, were of ancient and honorable lineage.[1] As a method of instruction, the dialogue had been popular with schoolmasters from an early day. Student-texts in the form of *colloquia scholastica* found their place in the schools of Greece and Rome,[2] and the *genre* was continued in the Middle Ages.[3]

[1]*Paedologia Petri Mosellani Protegensis, in puerorum usum conscripta. Hieronymus. Non sunt contẽnenda quasi parua, sine quibus magna cõstare nõ possunt.* Leipzig, 1518. Edited by Michel, H. *Petrus Mosellanus, Paedologia.* Berlin, 1906. (*Lateinische Litteratur-denkmäler des XV und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, No. 18.)

[2]Goetz, G., editor. *Dositheus Magister. Colloquium scholicum Harleianum.* Jena, 1892; Ibid. *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, III (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 637-59; Hirzel, R. *Der Dialog. Ein literarhistorischer Versuch.* Leipzig, 1895. 2 vols; Jahn, O. *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (Bonn, 1873), pp. 97-98; Krumbacher, K. *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur vom Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches*, in *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, IX, i (Munich, 1897), pp. 561-62.

[3]Well known examples are those of Alcuin (8th century), *Pippini regalis et nobilissimi juvenis disputatio* (Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, CI, pp. 975-979); and Aelfric (10th century), *Colloquium ad pueros linguae locutione exercendos, ab Aelfrico primum compilatum, et deinde, ab Aelfrico Bata, ejus discipulo, auctum*, in Thorpe, B., editor. *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (London, 1868), pp. 18-36. Translated in Gem, S. H. *An Anglo-Saxon Abbot, Aelfric of Eynsham* (Edinburgh, 1912), pp. 183-195. See also Specht, F. A. *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1885), p. 85.

There were many texts illustrative of the question and answer method, but mere lists of questions and responses were not usually entitled *colloquia* or *dialogi*. In the definitive sense accepted by the later Middle Ages, and regarded as traditional during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, these terms referred to manuals in the form of conversation between master and student, or between two students. This adaptation of a time-honored *modus discendi* appeared in two kinds of *colloquia ad usum puerorum*. One was composed merely for the purpose of giving instruction in the subject matter discussed by the *dramatis personae*, the other was designed not only to present information of various sorts, but also to aid students in the mastery of colloquial Latin. In his letter of dedication, Mosellanus indicates that the latter was his purpose in writing the *Paedologia*.

To students, teachers, and educated men everywhere in western Europe, during the Middle Ages, Latin was a live language. This was still true throughout the Renaissance, in spite of the rapid development of vernacular literatures. Within the school and without, it was the language of learning. It was the *sine qua non* of the erudite and general reader alike. As a matter of course, educated people

spoke Latin, certainly a necessity in gatherings of mixed nationalities. For fluent colloquial use the mastery of a strange, and somewhat difficult idiom was required. Naturally, the task of inculcating this ability fell upon the schoolmaster, and so seriously and strictly did he prosecute it that in grammar schools as well as in universities the students were obliged to speak Latin at all times, even when at play. To insure this, spies (*lupi*) were appointed to report those who spoke their mother-tongue; and penalties were imposed upon the *vulgarisantes*.

The medieval schoolboy began his study of Latin by learning the letters and the traditional syllables. His first text was usually the *Ars minor* of Donatus, or some primer based on that venerable grammar.[4] Then followed vocabularies, collections of aphorisms like the *Disticha Catonis*,[5] and a more advanced grammar such as the *Doctrinale* of

[4]*Donati de partibus orationis ars minor* in Keil, G. T. H., editor. *Grammatici latini* (Leipzig, 1855-80. 7 vols.), IV, pp. 355-66. Translated into English by Chase, W. J. *The Ars Minor of Donatus*. Madison, Wis., 1926 (*Univ. of Wis. Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, No. 11.)

[5]Baehrens, P. H. E., editor. *Poetae Latini minores* (Leipzig, 1879-86. 6 vols. in 3), III, pp. 205-42. Translated into Dutch, English, French, German and Greek in *Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus ad Filium* (Amsterdam, 1759. Anonymus.); translated into English by Chase, W. J. *The Distichs of Cato*. Madison, Wis., 1922. (*Univ. of Wis. Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, No. 7.)

Alexander de Villa Dei. The *Doctrinale*, composed in the thirteenth century, was one of the prescribed texts at many universities during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[6] But these manuals were uninteresting, and their subject matter was somewhat remote from that of everyday conversation. As a result, a colloquial language developed in the schools quite different from that of the texts, a barbarous tongue characterized by incorrect syntax and *sordida verba*. In fact, many of the books used in the various fields of study would hardly have been intelligible to a Ciceronian, so far had they departed from the classical Roman vocabulary and style.

These defects were recognized by the scholars of the Renaissance, and many attacks were made on the Latinity and *docta ignorantia* of the old school. As they viewed it, the remedy lay in the restoration of classical Latin, an indispensable condition to the establishment of the New Learning. They saw, too, that if the battle were to be waged successfully, preparation for it must be made early in youth. The schools and universities

[6]Baebler, J. J. *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der lateinischen Grammatik im Mittelalter* (Halle, 1885), pp. 116-34; Neudecker, C. G. *Das Doktrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei und der lateinische Unterricht während des Mittelalters in Deutschland.* Pirna, 1885; Reichling, D. *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei.* Berlin, 1893. (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII.)

must play their part. A very evident need of the period was a new elementary Latin text, one containing the ordinary matter of conversation, yet written in the style of Cicero or Terence. Strange as it may seem, some of the leading humanists of the day gave time and energy to the composition of colloquies embodying these new ideas.[7] Through the efforts of Mosellanus, Erasmus, Vives, Castellion, and others, the colloquy or school-dialogue became an important weapon in the struggle of the New Learning against the old.[8]

In a general sense, the sixteenth was the greatest century of the Renaissance. It was also the great century of the school-dialogue. By 1564, the following had made their appearance: Andreas Huendern, *Latinum idioma* (1501); Laurentius Corvinus, *Latinum idioma* (1503); *Collocutiones duorum puerorum de rebus puerilibus ad invicem loquentium* (shortly after 1500, according to Bömer); Petrus Mosel-

[7]Bömer, A. *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten* (Berlin, 1897-99. 2 parts.), I, p. 5: "Bent as the humanists were on making the Latin language the vehicle, not only for learning and learned purposes, but for all the ordinary intercourse of everyday life, in every department, they chose as themes for their school-dialogues any and every thing about which the pupils might have occasion to talk, not merely confining themselves to the wide sphere of school life, but utilising all the circumstances of daily life which were likely to interest the juvenile mind."

[8]See Buisson, F. *Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son oeuvre*, 1515-1563 (Paris, 1892. 2 vols.), I, pp. 154-57.

lanus, *Paedologia* (1518); Desiderius Erasmus, *Familiarum colloquiorum formulae* (1519); Christophorus Hegendorffinus, *Dialogi pueriles* (1520); Hadrianus Barlandus, *Dialogi ad profligandam e scholis barbariem utilissimi* (1524); Hermannus Schottenius, *Confabulationes tironum litterariorum* (1525); Sebaldus Heyden, *Formulae puerilium colloquiorum* (1528); Jonas Philologus, *Dialogi* (1529); Jacobus Zovitius, *Colloquia* (date unknown); Juan Luis Vives, *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* (1539); Sebastien Castellion, *Dialogi sacri* (1543); Nicolaus Winmannus, *Dialogi* (1544); Martinus Duncanus, *Praetextata latine loquendi ratio* (1552); Mathurinus Corderius, *Colloquia scholastica* (1564).[9] The continued popularity of texts of this type is seen in the publication of over one hundred editions each of the *colloquia* of Erasmus, Vives, and Corderius, which appeared as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. The *Paedologia* went through sixty-four editions between 1518 and 1706.

[9]With the exception of Castellion the list is taken from Bömer, *op. cit.* See also Massebieau, L. *Les colloques scolaires du seizième siècle, et les auteurs, 1480-1570.* Paris, 1878; *Répertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques du XVI^e siècle.* Paris, 1886; and Zappert, G. *Über ein für den Jugendunterricht Kaiser Maximilian's I. abgefasstes lateinisches Gesprächbüchlein,* in *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.—Hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna, 1858), XXVIII, pp. 193-280.

The forerunner of the new colloquy of the Renaissance was the *Manuale scholarium*, which appeared in a printed edition in 1481.[10] This popular work was written to serve as a text in conversational Latin, and as a guide-book for freshmen at Leipzig. It supplied the student, at the beginning of his career, with much information concerning the more important features of life in the university. The *Manuale* succeeded in reproducing the actual subject matter of student conversation, but its Latin was quite corrupt.[11] Furthermore, its spirit and content were wholly medieval. The sources indicate that it had a wide circulation. Within a few years of its publication, it was copied almost verbatim by Paulus Niavis in his *Latina idiomata*.[12]

[10]Seybolt, R. F., translator. *The Manuale Scholarium*. Cambridge, Mass., 1921. The *Manuale scholarium* went through seven editions before 1500.

[11]Zarncke, F. *Die deutschen Universitäten* im Mittelalter (Leipzig, 1857), p. 226: "His [the author's] Latin betrays not the slightest influence of the works of Cicero; indeed, it is often so incorrect that it can hardly be excused even for the fifteenth century."

[12]The *Latina idiomata* appeared in twenty-two editions by 1505. See Fabricius, W. *Die ältesten gedruckten Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Studententums*, in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Jg. I (Leipzig, 1897-98), i, pp. 177-182; Wolkan, R. *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur in Boehmen* (Prague, 1894), pp. 159-65.

The first important modern colloquies were those of Mosellanus.[13] Shortly after their appearance, the *Manuale scholarium* and the *Latina idiomata* went out of use. Neither of these could serve as a model of the Latin which the schools wished to encourage. The *Paedologia* borrowed its style from the best writers of classical Latin, and its content was up-to-date. Many school statutes give evidence of its popularity in the sixteenth century.[14]

Petrus Mosellanus (Peter Schade), the author of the *Paedologia*, was born in 1493 or 1494 in the little town of Bruttig, near Coblenz, on the Moselle.[15] Little is known of his

[13]Buisson, F. *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Pédagogie* (Paris, 1911), p. 1365: "Mosellanus . . . was . . . the first of the Renaissance schoolmasters to publish dialogues for the purpose of aiding students in the mastery of conversational Latin."

[14]Michel, *op. cit.*, xxxviii; Dadelson, H. von. *Die Pädagogik Melanchthons* (Strassburg, 1878), p. 54; Hartfelder, K. *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae.* Berlin, 1889. (*Mon. Germ. Paed.*, VII) pp. 421, 426, 497; Koldewey, F. *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828.* Berlin, 1886-90. 2 vols. (*Mon. Germ. Paed.*, I, and VIII), I, pp. 57, 107; II, p. 14; Schmidt, K. *Geschichte der Pädagogik* (Köthen, 1873-76. 4 vols. in 3.), III, pp. 110-111: "That noteworthy little book, the *Paedologia*, was prescribed as a text in many school-statutes."

[15]Schmidt, O. G. *Petrus Mosellanus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Sachsen.* Leipzig, 1867. Biographical sketches of later date are based on Schmidt, or on Michel, *op. cit.*, who made an independent study of the sources. See also

boyhood, except that it was marked by various privations. After a period of study in Trier, where he may have attended the university, he matriculated at the University of Cologne, January 2, 1512, and took the baccalaureate examination there November 25 of the same year. Except for a few brief journeys, he remained in Cologne for about two years, studying and teaching. Here he came in contact with the humanist Hermann von dem Busche, and studied Greek with Johannes Caesarius. For a few months, during the year 1515, he taught in Freiberg, Saxony. In the summer of 1515 he matriculated at the University of Leipzig. This was the turning point of his career. Encouraged by Richard Croke, he continued his study of Greek, and when Croke returned to England in 1517, Mosellanus succeeded him as professor of

Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, XXII, pp. 358-59; Bursian, C. *Geschichte der classischen Philologie in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Münich, 1883. 2 vols.), I, pp. 184-85; Krafft, K., and W. *Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation im 16. Jahrhunderte, nebst Mitteilungen über Kölnische Gelehrte und Studien im 13. und 16. Jahrhunderte* (Elberfeld, 1876), pp. 118ff; Paulsen, F. *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 10, 35, 61, 64-65, 69, 73, 77, 79, 80, 103, 121, 124-25.

Greek at Leipzig.[16] His scholarly activities and his lectures on the language and literature of Greece attracted the attention of humanists throughout western Europe.[17] Erasmus, Melanchthon, and many others were generous in their praise of his scholarship. Mosellanus was elected Rector of the university for the summer terms of 1520 and 1523. His untimely death in 1524 terminated a life that promised unusual achievement.[18] With-

[16]Richard Croke was chosen, in 1515, as the first professor of Greek at Leipzig. Upon his acceptance of the professorship of Greek at Cambridge, Erasmus wrote as follows (Apr. 23, 1518): "I congratulate you, my Croke, on that splendid professorship." Nichols, F. M., translator. *The Epistles of Erasmus* (London, 1901-18. 3 vols.), III, 355. See *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, IV, pp. 602-604; Bursian, *op. cit.*, p. 183; Paulsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44, 61, 63-65, 82; and the *Paedologia*, Dialogue V, n. 4.

[17]Paulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 124. Mosellanus' various works are listed in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXII, pp. 358-59; Bursian, *op. cit.*, p. 184, n. 1; *Répertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques du XVI^e siècle*, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-59; Schmidt, K., *op. cit.*, pp. 85ff. It should be noted that Mosellanus taught Latin also. He appears in the "List of Rectors of the University of Leipzig, 1409-1559" as "*Petrus Mosellanus bonarum litterarum in utraque lingua professor.*" Zarncke, F. *Die urkundlichen Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Leipzig in den ersten 150 Jahren ihres Bestehens* (Leipzig, 1857), pp. 595-96.

[18]*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXII, p. 359: "Melanchthon was present at his death; deeply grieved, he wrote: 'His death is a serious loss to learning, for his gifts were quite extraordinary.' " See also Hartfelder, *op. cit.*, p. 141, for a *post mortem* note by Camerarius, who accompanied Melanchthon on this occasion; and Paulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 64: "When he died in the year 1524, the Rector, J. Reusch, recorded the fact in the *Acta rectorum*, and added: '*preter etatem in utraque lingua peritissimus*,

in its brief span he had taken his place with Erasmus, Hegius, Melanchthon, Reuchlin, Wimpheling, the leaders of German humanism. In the *Ciceronianus*, published in 1528, Erasmus said: "I admire his scholarship, equal in Latin and Greek, his practical knowledge, his pure and unalloyed genius, his untiring care, his lively, figurative, and clear diction. Much would have been expected of him if he had not died in his youth . . . a great loss to letters."[19]

The colloquies interest us, at this late day, not only as examples of the Latin used in the schools, and of the method of teaching it, but also as sources of information concerning school and university life during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[20] As several writers have remarked, they have become "historical documents" of great value to those who would picture the various as-

gymnasii nostri suprema columna.' Also the Duke (George of Saxony), in a letter to Erasmus, expressed his heartfelt grief over the premature death of Mosellanus: '*fuit summum Lipsiensis Gymnasii decus*' (*Erasmi. Opp.*, III, 801)."

[19]Scott, I., translator. *Erasmus, Ciceronianus* (New York, 1908), p. 102.

[20]Bömer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 5: "These dialogue books, by their very compass and manifold variety, have become for us such a priceless source of information for the history of school life and of culture generally, that very few literary productions of the period can bear comparison with them."

pects of student life at that time.[21] Because of its lively portrayal of conditions at Heidelberg, the *Manuale scholarium* is the most frequently cited original account of life in the medieval university. The *Paedologia* offers the student of today an equally vivid "description" of the environment in which his Renaissance predecessor lived at Leipzig. "Mosellanus gives interesting details of student-life at Leipzig. He takes scenes from the ordinary life of the scholars, shows the nature of their religious ideas, and their studies."[22]

For the most part, the scenes in the *Paedologia* are laid in a grammar school, perhaps in St. Thomas' at Leipzig. By means of their dialogues, the *dramatis personae*—the students—lead the reader through the process of matriculation and of establishing themselves in their lodgings. One is eagerly awaiting the day of the fair, with the hope that he will receive some money which his parents have sent in the care of a merchant. Another receives a letter calling him home, and must secure the

[21]Woodward, W. H. *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1906), p. 162: "the Colloquies of Cordier have no little interest today as a document of historical value giving us, as do also the similar dialogues of Vives, direct insight into the school life of the time."

[22]Watson, F. *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 327.

master's permission to withdraw. Occasionally, one oversleeps or feigns illness, *morbus scholasticus*. The poverty and wealth of students is discussed. Begging at the doors of the wealthy and singing for food are common practices. They curse the frequent fasts, and look forward to feast days and weddings with their distributions of food. Ball-games and traveling shows are happy interludes in the routine of school-life.

Dialogues V and IX refer to the University of Leipzig. One of the characters, Ioannes, comes to the University to study Greek: he has heard that Duke George of Saxony has established a professorship of Greek there. The authors to be selected for the "next semester" are discussed: Cicero, Terence, Virgil, Aurelius, Prudentius, and Erasmus. Mosellanus takes this opportunity of expressing his disapproval of Apuleius, Capella, Catullus, Tibullus, and Martial.

The colloquies of Erasmus, Vives, and Corderius have appeared in English renderings, and those of Castellion are available in French. So far as I know, the *Paedologia* has not been translated into any modern language. For the present translation, I have used the text edited by Michel.

PAEDOLOGIA
PETRI MOSELLANI PROTEGENSIS
IN USUM PUERORUM CONSCRIPTA
HIERONYMUS
NON SUNT CONTĒNENDA QUASI PARUA
SINE QUIBUS MAGNA CŌSTARE NŌ
POSSUNT

LIPSIAE
MDXVIII

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Dedicatory Epistle

Petrus Mosellanus to Ioannes Poliandrus, Master of the School of St. Thomas at Leipzig

You know, John,[1] from an experience of many years in these matters, with what difficulty and how slowly tender youth attains to an imitation of ancient Latin. Since, after the elements of grammar, the tender mental powers are immediately forced to Latin speech, and with no method shown them, it happens that, in their endeavor to do, in one way or another, what they are ordered, they invent for themselves a certain new manner of speaking which is wholly barbarous, and which has in it some traces of the vernacular. This imperfection early impressed on their uncultivated and, therefore, very tenacious minds cannot later be effaced in any way. It seems that not only the Germans, but also the Italians, who desire to appear to us better versed in this respect, are just as impure and inept in their daily speech. You see, indeed, that many of those who use the Latin tongue today speak

[1]Poliander was master of St. Thomas' School from 1518 to 1522.

nothing but their own native language and an unadulterated infusion of the Roman usage, so that Quintilian, a writer of the most unaffected eloquence, seems to have written in vain concerning extempore speech.[2] What shall be said of the fact that this evil detracts from the success of a more mature period of life? Otherwise, why are they blamed in the opinion of Quintilian and Gellius for learning late in life, except that, in their speech, they have not been accustomed to the best from childhood?[3] All the obstacles they meet in authors they sweep together in their usage, without regard to choice, so that their whole speech is not their own and born in their native land, but, collected in mendicant fashion from various writers, as a beggar might from door to door, cannot but be offensive to men of nice discernment. When you were considering these things no less keenly than seriously, and you held nothing to be more important than the improvement of the uncultivated and sequacious minds of the youth entrusted to your care, you often pleaded with me to put together

[2] *Institutio oratoria*, X, vii. Bonnell, E., editor. *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae* (Leipzig, 1854. 2 vols. in 1.), II, pp. 182-187.

[3] ὀψιμαθεῖς *Institutio oratoria*, I, xii (Bonnell edition, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.) *Noctes Atticae*, XI, vii, 3. Hertz, M. *A. Gellii Noctium Atticarum, Libri xx* (Leipzig, 1886. 2 vols.), II, p. 39.

some forms for conversation which would be suitable to this age.[4] For a long time, as you know, I have been reluctant; and occupied with more important matters, I scorned the work, very useful no doubt, but in appearance humble and almost unworthy; and, since I have had no experience in diversions of this sort, I should have difficulty in playing the part appropriately. Indeed, I saw that, to produce a successful work of this kind, it would be necessary to become a child again, and, as Horace says, play "odd and even," and ride a hobby-horse.[5] But since you continued to request it, and since you who are well versed in the habits of youth, promised to help if anything were lacking in this matter, I decided to suffer any calumny

[4]Cf. Juan Luis Vives' dedication of his *Linguae latinae exercitatio* to Philip, son of Charles V: "Very great are the uses of the Latin language both for speaking and thinking rightly. For that language is as it were the treasure-house of all erudition, since men of great and outstanding minds have written on every branch of knowledge in the Latin speech. Nor can anyone attain to the knowledge of these subjects except by first learning Latin. For which reason I shall not grudge, though engaged in the pursuit of higher researches, to set myself to help forward to some degree the elementary studies of youth. I have, in these Dialogues, written a first book of practice in speaking the Latin language as suitable as possible, I trust, to boys." Watson, F., translator. *Tudor School-Boy Life* (London, 1908), p. xxi.

[5]*Sermones*, II, iii, 248. Macleane, A. J., editor. *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia* (London, 1894), p. 484. See also Grasberger, L. *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum* (Würzburg, 1864-81. 3 vols.), I, pp. 143-45.

whatever, rather than refuse you, a friend who loved me sincerely and besought me discreetly, or, in my modesty, withhold longer a common benefit to youth. Now, if there is anyone who thinks it unworthy for these trifles, as they seem at first, to have been written in sheer waste of paper, let him, for a time, put off the man, return to the boy, and reflect upon the time when he first began to learn the use of the Latin idiom. I think he will see at once how easily and with hardly any difficulty this immature age could be led, by means of such narratives, as if by a kind of stairway, to the style of Terence and the ease of Cicero.[6] Who would have stood it, and who would not instantly hiss me from the stage, if from the mouth of a juvenile character I should utter the gloomy wisdom of an old man?[7] However, there are certain

[6]Cf. Sébastien Castellion's dedication of the *Dialogi sacri* to Maturinus Corderius: "Do you remember, dear Maturinus, how often we have groaned together over the fact that there was no book which could lead children by degrees from the reading of the most elementary authors to the most difficult?" (Watson, F. *The Eng. Gram. Schools to 1660, op. cit.*, p. 338.)

[7]Erasmus, "Concerning the profitableness of colloquies," in Bailey, N. *The Colloquies of Erasmus* (London, 1878. 2 vols.), II, pp. 357-58: "I thought meet to allure tender Youth with Inticements of this Sort, who are more easily attracted with those Things that are pleasant than those that are serious, or the most exact . . . And if anyone shall cry out, that it is an unseemly Thing for an old Man to sport himself thus childishly; I care not how childishly it be, so it be but profitably . . . I cannot tell that any Thing is learned with better Success than

things scattered through our nonsense which seem to introduce serious matters, so much so that I shall hardly be safe from those who play the role of Aristarchus.[8] But, unmindful of this, I have preferred to sprinkle, now and then, over the dignified parts, a few little things, which if the teachers read carefully to their students, would obviate their dislike of study, and at the same time restore the habits of youth to Christian rule. I wished to dedicate these labors to you, Poliander, since you have been my adviser and helper in these writings; may you also vouchsafe to protect this little book, such as it is, with your eloquence, authority, and favor. If, from this publication, no praise, or only very slight praise returns to you, the inspirer, or to me, the author, we may console ourselves with the reflection that, from no desire for popular favor, but rather with piety and simplicity, we have completed our undertaking, you by encouraging, I by writing, since we desired to benefit some, at least to harm none. Farewell. Leipzig, the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, MDXVIII.

what is learned by playing: and this is in Truth a very harmless Sort of Fraud, to trick a Person into his own Profit. Physicians are commended for cheating their Patients after this Manner."

[8]Aristarchus of Samothrace (2nd century, B.C.), "the greatest critic of antiquity," claimed that many of Homer's verses were spurious.

DIALOGUE I

CASPAR AND MODESTUS

They Discuss the Fair

Caspar. Well, Modestus, how many days off is the fair, for which foreign merchants frequently come here?

Modestus. If I am not mistaken, fourteen days, for I am counting them hour by hour, since there is no time in the whole year to which I look forward more eagerly than to the fair.

Caspar. Quite rightly, since the fair sometimes brings us news, sometimes letters, and sometimes money which is more welcome than all the letters. But if the next fair does not bring me some money, I shall not be able to remain here longer, for I am dead broke.[1]

Modestus. Money, eh? I know well enough that I shall not receive any. However, when I left home, my father promised to send me some cloth for a winter coat.

[1] *plane exhausto.*
It was a common practice for parents to send money and letters by merchants attending the fairs in school- and university-towns.

CASPAR. Would that it might be as we both desire, so that with you better clothed and me provided with more money, we may, with little difficulty, ward off the hardships of a severe winter.

DIALOGUE II

OSVALDUS AND MICHAEL

Celebrating a Birthday, Receiving Money, and Everyone's Good Genius

Osvaldus. Aren't you celebrating your birthday today, and entertaining us, your friends, at a spread? Don't you know that today is sacred to St. Michael whose name you bear?[1]

Michael. I know it, but how am I to do so, since I haven't the money with which to buy food, or give a spread?

Osvaldus. Didn't your parents send any money to the fair for you?[2]

Michael. Of course they did, but until the fair ends I can't get anything from the merchant. He merely gave me letters He says that, in such a confusion, there is no time for counting out money. Otherwise, I should not merely celebrate my birthday with a spread, but I should also, with some special gaiety,

[1]St. Michael's Day, Sept. 29.
[2]Cf. *Manuale scholarium* (Seybolt translation, *op. cit.*), Ch. XII, pp. 69-70.

please my good genius, which we call our guardian angel.[3]

Osvaldus. Well, we are aptly excused by Terence: they say "as we can," when "as we desire" is impossible.[4]

[3] *sed et genio bono, quem angelicum dicimus, peculiari aliqua hilaritate gratificarer.* Recalls the ancient belief that everyone had a good and a bad genius. One's good genius might be called one's guardian angel. See Wissowa, G. *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1912), pp. 175-76.

[4] *Andria*, IV, v, 10: "*Ut quimus, aiunt, quando ut uolumus non licet.*" Tyrrell, R. Y., editor. *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae* (Oxford, 1902).

DIALOGUE III

PETRUS AND PAULUS

Returning Home, Letters Received From Parents, and Requesting Permission to Withdraw From School

Petrus. Hello, Paul.

Paulus. The same to you, Pete, old pal.[1] Why are you so downhearted? Ever since our common interests and this school have brought us together in friendship, you have always seemed to be happy and gay, so that of all those whom the school brought here there was no one who did not wish to be your friend. Now, I don't know why you look otherwise.

Petrus. Does it seem strange to you if I am sad, when something has happened that can seriously delay the progress of my studies?

Paulus. What is it? It must be something serious that takes a conscientious youth like you away from his studies.

Petrus. I'll tell you in a few words. It is now almost a year since, inspired by the fame of

[1] *Et tu, sodalium iucundissime, Petre.*

this school of ours, I came here to undertake the cultivation of my mind; and I had hardly got my bearings in my studies when letters are brought to me calling me home in the midst of my course. And what is worst of all, they don't state the reasons for my return. Nor can I find out whether I shall be able to come back.

PAULUS. How do you know but what you are called home to some good fortune?

PETRUS. No good fortune could happen to me so great as to make me want to postpone my education.

PAULUS. But one must yield to one's parents.

PETRUS. That is what troubles me, what takes me home. Although I haven't enough money with which to get through the winter, nevertheless, for the sake of my studies, I should be willing to seek a living by begging from door to door.

PAULUS. Before you go, perhaps never to return, shall we not have a party?

PETRUS. Should I indulge in feasting? I have hardly time to collect a bundle of my belongings. I am going to the master right now, to ask for permission to leave. As soon as I get it, and receive certain letters from my

countrymen, which they will give me for their parents, I shall begin my journey. So, good-bye, Paul, remember me to our friends. When you have time, send me some news about the progress of your studies and the way things are going at school.

PAULUS. I'll do so, Pete, and gladly; but listen, you . . .

PETRUS. What is it?

PAULUS. I wish you would give my best regards to your fellow-countrymen, whose companionship we enjoyed while they were here.

PETRUS. All right, I will.

DIALOGUE IV

PETRUS AND PANDULUS; THE MASTER

Addressing the Master, Obtaining Permission to Withdraw, and Giving Thanks to the Master

Pandulus. Who are you who knock so hard on my door? Pete, was it you who knocked?

Petrus. Yes, I knocked.

Pandulus. By what right do you ask admittance? Is that the way to address a master?

Petrus. Yes. If he is at home, I have some business with him.

Pandulus. He is at home, but wait a little until I tell you whether he has time to listen to you.—Master, some student is waiting outside, who, if you find it convenient, desires to speak with you about something.

Master. Who is there?

Pandulus. He'll be right in now.

Petrus. Good morning, sir. I am called home by urgent letters from my parents, and

if I were not recalled, lack of money and clothing would force me to go home. I give everlasting thanks to you, most honored master, because you so kindly saw fit to admit me to your instruction, and then because I have been a student in your school, and have striven faithfully and carefully to improve in letters and good habits. Since, as I have said, I can stay here no longer, I beg, as humbly as I can, that you may grant me permission to depart, with that same favor that you have shown me thus far. If it meets with your favor, I shall start on my journey tomorrow at daybreak.

MASTER. If I have done anything that has been worthy of thanks, earnest youth, accept it all as part of my duty as preceptor. Since you are called away by certain letters from your parents, go, with my permission, and wherever your parents call you, or wherever your own counsel calls you, may good luck go with you.

PETRUS. But there, where I am going, haven't you some friends to whom you desire to write? I shall gladly take any message you wish conveyed.

MASTER. I haven't any; and although I should have, there would not be time for me

to write, occupied as I am, at present, with other business. As far as letters are concerned, take up your journey as soon as it is convenient.

PETRUS. Good-bye.

DIALOGUE V

MARCUS AND IOANNES

The Arrival and Reception of New Students, and the Early Mastery of the Rudiments of Greek Literature

Marcus. Where do you come from, John? What is your purpose in coming here to us? I don't suppose you come here on account of this school, when you couldn't be persuaded by my letters or by those of others.[1]

Ioannes. On the contrary, I am here for that very reason.

Marcus. However that may be, I am glad you have come to us, old pal.[2] Your coming has been desired not only by me, but by all who know you. But tell me what it is that finally enticed you here.

Ioannes. Do you want to know?

Marcus. Yes.

Ioannes. Listen. When I first began, as a youngster, with little serious thought, to hear the master read the Latin authors, we came

[1]The dialogue refers to the University of Leipzig.
[2]*festivissimum sodalem.*

upon some Greek word from time to time. At this point, the master thought he had performed his duty acceptably if, in passing, he so much as reminded us that it was Greek, just as if a foreign word were of no importance to us.[3] I don't know how that struck other hearers, but I thought this: if these matters are of no concern to us, so that when they are known they do not make a man learned, or when unknown make him out to be ignorant, why not completely erase them from the books as blemishes? Then I wondered at the scrupulousness of almost all the old writers who not only learned all these foreign trifles, but scattered them in their books like blots. Finally, although to disagree with the teacher was a serious matter, when I heard that there were many serious men who studied and taught these trifles, I began little by little to ponder the matter to see what I should believe, whether my master were erring on account of ignorance, or all antiquity at the same time and the best students of modern times were indulging in childish folly. And so, uncertain about this and doubtful as to which side I should take, it happened that the instructor took up the explanation of Marcus Tullius Cicero's *De officiis* at the

[3] *Graecum est, non legitur* is an old saying.

very beginning of his lectures. In his introduction, this most learned philosopher and orator advises his only son to combine the study of Greek with Latin, so that he might be equally versed in these languages.[4] When I perceived this, in spite of the teacher's hiding it from me, I began to grieve greatly that the opportunity of becoming acquainted with these writings was denied us, which studies, if useless, the Roman consul would not have praised nor, as a wise father, have imposed upon his only son.

MARCUS. Now I see what you are getting at.

IOANNES. Wait, you haven't heard the whole story. When I was considering these things half in anger, behold the rumor breaks out among us that, by the munificence of a prince, there had been brought to this most distinguished institution of learning those who taught Greek publicly, and that from them as from a fountain something was also flowing into the university.[5] This report, confirmed

[4]*De officiis*, I, 1. Baiter, J. G., and Kayser, C. L., editors. *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia* (Leipzig, 1860-69. 11 vols.), VIII, p. 1.

[5]The "prince" was Duke George of Saxony (1471-1539), who brought Richard Croke and Mosellanus to the University of Leipzig as professors of Greek. In a letter, of 1520, Erasmus tells Duke George that the university owes its reputation as a center of classical study to his munificence. (Paulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 55.)

partly by letters, and partly by travelers from this place, excited my desire to learn and brought me here. Now you know why I came, that in this school of yours I might be permitted to get at least the rudiments of the Greek language.

MARCUS. Without doubt, your wish will be granted; nor could you have gone anywhere else with better results. Everything is provided here. Moreover, what is more to the point, this school is the best equipped of any.

IOANNES. Since we have talked long enough, you will not refuse me the service, I believe, of leading me to the rector of the school, as I am now ready to enrol immediately in my studies.

MARCUS. I'll do so gladly. Come with me.

DIALOGUE VI

MARCUS, THE MASTER, IOANNES

The Admission of Students to School

Marcus. Worthy master, I am bringing to you one whom I have known well for a number of years, a good, studious fellow. He was influenced to come here by the reputation of your school. He will consider it a great favor if you will be so kind as to accept him.

Master. Young man, what is your name?[1]

Ioannes. My name is John.

Master. You have certainly drawn a lucky name, for it is held in favor among the Hebrews. For that reason it is incumbent upon you to excel, so that you may respond acceptably to the expectation of your name.

Ioannes. I'll see to it that I do the best I can, and I am sure you will help me in this.

Master. Your very appearance shows a purpose underneath, which does not shrink either from learning or from effort, so that if

[1]Cf. the form of matriculation in the *Manuale scholarium*, Ch. I.

you will do your best, this may finally be said of you: virtue is more pleasing in a beautiful body.[2] So, I gladly accept you in my school, provided you promise to perform the duty of a good student.

IOANNES. I promise to do what is right in everything that you command.

MASTER. So I hope, indeed. But where is your home, so that I may record it in this ledger?

IOANNES. Aub is my home, a town in East France, situated not far from Würzburg, celebrated as the abode of priests.

MASTER. I am satisfied. There is nothing more but to see that you are provided with a lodging-house suitable to your means and needs. Conduct yourself in it so that no discredit may come to our school.

IOANNES. Rest assured as to that, worthy master; for, as is proper for a lodger, I shall behave most modestly. Do you wish to give me any other advice?

MASTER. Nothing, for if there is anything left to be shown you, it will be said daily during our lectures.

[2]Aeneid, V, 344: "*Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.*" Conington, J., editor. *P. Vergili Maronis opera* (London, 1881-83. 3 vols.), II, p. 363.

DIALOGUE VII

IOSEPHUS AND CLEANTHES

Convenient and Inconvenient Lodgings, and the Poverty and Wealth of Students

Iosephus. How are you getting along, Cleanthes? Have you found a suitable dwelling, or are you still wandering about without having located a lodging-house?

Cleanthes. I have found a room, but it is not so satisfactory as I hoped it would be, although there was hope that, with the aid of some citizen, I should obtain lodging and some sort of food at the same place; but it has turned out very differently. I have hardly been able to have a corner in the school assigned to me for the customary fee. Since I have so little money, I shall have to beg food from door to door, unless I have better luck later. You are lucky, Joe, because your parents supply freely all that is necessary for the convenience of a student.

Iosephus. Thanks to God, I have the wherewithal to get the conveniences for myself, but the more numerous the conveniences that I have for my studies, the more worthy should I be of contempt if I did not learn

more than any of you. However, you should not despair over the indifferent progress of your studies, since it is fitting that many born in a humble place, and aided by no dowry of fortune, should rise to the height of erudition. Was not Democritus, that natural philosopher, made a philosopher from a day-laborer? Did not Cleanthes, whose name you bear, seek his daily bread by drawing water at night? Was he not the equal of that Stoic? And Plautus, during his irksome labors at the bakery, wrote his most excellent comedies.

Cleanthes. Inspired by these and other examples of the sort, I shall persevere in my studies; otherwise, I should long ago have taken up some manual employment. Though there are a great many young fellows of my station in life rather rotting in the schools than studying, with such inferior ability that they are wholly unfitted for the pursuit of learning, they seem to me to be of no other use in the state than to drive the other beggars out of the cities, while they steal bread from them. I should advise them to apply themselves to some other pursuit.

Iosephus. You are right, Cleanthes, for if all of this sort were endowed with the same sort of talent that you have, I should say that they should be encouraged in every way.

As far as you are concerned, I hope the day is near when your condition will be better, indeed that you may have all the conveniences for study at the home of some citizen whom you may sometimes serve.

CLEANTHES. May God bring that about.

IOSEPHUS. May he. Do not doubt that you will be helped by this advice of mine.

DIALOGUE VIII

ANDREAS AND PHILIPPUS

They Talk About the Vintage and Fowling

Andreas. I wish we were at home now, with our parents, Phil.

Philippus. Why so?

Andreas. Do you ask? This is the time of the vintage. There is nothing more delightful in our country in the whole year.

Philippus. What do I hear? Do you wish to be a vine-dresser and a cultivator of letters at the same time?

Andreas. For the sake of a little sport we would pick grapes, and try the must from the vat; nor would I like to be away longer than for the must in the vat to work and foam off; in addition to this, we would boil down the juice, the must and the dregs of the old wine. And what about the fun we should have fowling, if we should catch birds, sometimes with snares, sometimes with springes, and sometimes even with twigs smeared with bird-lime.

PHILIPPUS. Without doubt. Let your parents do these things. If you are wise, you will attend to your studies.

ANDREAS. But I have heard that great men have sought diversion in rustic pleasures of this sort.

PHILIPPUS. True, these things may be permitted to great men, but not to us, who have not yet gone beyond the rudiments.

ANDREAS. You always criticize the things I care about, just like a teacher.

PHILIPPUS. That is up to you; do as you please. You will not have me as a companion in your folly.

DIALOGUE IX

THOMAS AND HIERONYMUS

The Authors to be Lectured on the Next Semester

Thomas. Why do you come here, Jerry, and where have you been?[1]

Hieronymus. I am coming from the preceptor who is next to the rector in rank.

Thomas. Well, what did he say about the authors to be lectured on this semester? I suppose they have chosen them by now.

Hieronymus. Indeed they have and wisely, I hear. Besides the rudiments of both languages to be taught together according to Quintilian's treatise,[2] they have, in the first place, chosen Terence's comedies to be explained, because this writer alone among the Latins retains the native and genuine style of Roman speech, so much so that not even Cicero, that great orator, was ashamed to model his orations after his example;[3] next

[1] Dialogue IX refers to the University of Leipzig.

[2] *Institutio oratoria*, I, i, 12-14 (Bonnell edition, *op. cit.*, I, p. 8.)

[3] *Epistola ad Atticum*, VII, iii, 10 (Baiter and Kayser edition, *op. cit.*, X, p. 164.)

Cicero's *De officiis*, since this book not only adorns language with eloquence, but also gives instruction in correct living, from which, in the opinion of Pliny, one should not merely read, but learn verbatim.[4] Lastly, a few books of Virgil's poem will be expounded, doubtless in order that this fine poet, as Augustine says, fixed in youthful minds, may remain throughout all life.[5] In addition to these things, since it is not fitting that Christians should be all wrapt up in pagan books in these days when we are celebrating feasts, we should also hear the most splendid and solemn hymns of Aurelius Prudentius,[6] that grave and saintly man, or if they are not satisfactory, the *Enchiridion militis Christiani* of Erasmus Roterodamus studiously commented on.[7] If, as I hope, the instructors explain these things carefully, as is their duty, and we listen to them equally attentively, I do not think that this semester will have been badly employed by us.

[4] *Historia naturalis*, I, *Praefatio*, 22. Mayhoff, C., editor. *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae* (Leipzig, 1906-1909. 2 vols.), I, p. 7.

[5] *De civitate Dei*, I, 3: "*Nempe apud Virgilium, quem propterea parvuli legunt, ut videlicet poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus teneris ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit abolere.*" (Migne, J. P., editor. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, XLI, 16.)

[6] A writer of the fourth century who contributed much to the hymnology of the church.

[7] Published 1503.

THOMAS. Not unjustly do they praise this choice, Jerry; for I have never been satisfied with the custom of those men who neglect these and other excellent writers of their kind, and waste their good hours in Apuleius, Capella and his sort, which writers, not content with Ciceronian eloquence, have found for themselves a new manner of speaking, just as if it were not the greatest vice of speech to be averse to common usage.[8] For those who, disregarding the selection, teach authors like Catullus, Tibullus and Martial, and through this teach their students strange and absurd errors, it seems to me ought to be restrained not with words but with flogging.[9] They are the kind of poets who Plato thinks should be driven from his republic.[10] But I do not say these things from my own judgment, for I have heard the most learned and

[8]Apuleius (2nd century), known especially for his *Apologia*, *Florida*, and *Metamorphoses*. Martianus Minucius Felix Capella (5th century), author of *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, a treatise on the liberal arts.

[9]Catullus, Tibullus and Martial were too "modern" for Mosellanus.

[10]*The Republic*, III: "And therefore when any of these pantomimic gentlemen, who are so clever that they can imitate anything, comes to us, and makes a proposal to exhibit himself and his poetry, we will fall down and worship him as a sweet and holy and wonderful being; but we must also inform him that in our State such as he are not permitted to exist; the law will not allow them." Jowett, B., translator. *The Republic of Plato* (Oxford, 1888), p. 83.

at the same time the most unprejudiced men so decide.

HIERONYMUS. But the rector has done the right thing: he permits nothing of this sort to creep into his school. I am going now to a bookseller to purchase the books I have mentioned.

THOMAS. At what price may these be purchased?

HIERONYMUS. I haven't priced them yet; I think for one gold piece, although I heard someone say twenty-four silver pieces.

THOMAS. It is lucky that they do not cost more; otherwise, my condition is such that I haven't enough to purchase them.

HIERONYMUS. Well, Let's go.

THOMAS. Whenever you wish; I won't stop you.

DIALOGUE X

STEPHANUS AND LAURENTIUS

Forms for Speaking of a Feast Day

Stephanus. Who do they say is going to preach to the people in our church today, Larry?

Laurentius. I hear that one of the monks is to appear in the pupit.

Stephanus. I wonder that no outstanding preacher has been brought here for this occasion, since a great mob of people is crowding into the church today, because a certain celebrant, who has lately received priestly orders, will officiate for the first time.

Laurentius. It seems strange to me, too, although as far as I am concerned, I should wish the sermon to be as short as possible. For I am terribly hungry, having been fasting now for two days. In these days, when we abstain from meat, I never leave the table fully satisfied.

Stephanus. Your longing for food must be checked for two hours more, for in addition to the high mass which takes an hour, you

know how much time the choir takes, which even our songs, prolix beyond measure, hardly exceed in length.

LAURENTIUS. A curse on those who invented these things for us! For myself, as soon as the ceremony is over, I shall go speedily to the doors of the rich so that, if not among the first, I shall at least be among the second or third to receive a handout.[1]

STEPHANUS. But you'll hardly get there before I do.

LAURENTIUS. The consequences will prove that.

[1]*stipem.*

DIALOGUE XI

CLEMENS AND REMIGIUS

They Discuss the Second Day After the Feast, Which is Tuesday

Clemens. Woe to us, Remigius! We have slept beyond the limit. Even now the sun shines brightly everywhere, so that one may guess that the signal for the seventh hour has been given.

Remigius. No, I think the sky is merely clearer than usual, although I have often paid penalties on this day for my sleepiness.

Clemens. However that may be, I am afraid of the rod for myself; so, I'll think over another excuse by which I may be able to escape from my studies today.

Remigius. What one?

Clemens. You know, don't you, what our landlady asked of us yesterday?

Remigius. Yes, to help her servants draw water. But what about it?

Clemens. This loop-hole will be large enough to slip through; for which reason it will be up to you, when the stroke of eight is heard,

to come into school as if from the midst of your labors, and urgently request, from the preceptors, permission to go out, the reason being the one that I have suggested.

Remigius. Since this is the day on which a magnificent funeral is to be conducted, and a sacrifice made to the shades of the dead, I fear that our scheme will hardly be successful; and anyhow there are a few here already getting the procession ready.[1]

Clemens. However the thing turns out, it must be attempted. I don't know why on this day it is always so hard to go to school, not less so than if I had to go back into some drudgery. I believe that a sense of leisure remaining from yesterday makes me so reluctant.

[1]It was customary for the schools to provide choirs for funerals. See Koldewey, *op. cit.*, I, pp. lxxiv-lxxv.

DIALOGUE XII

BURCHARDUS AND ALBINUS

Weddings, Baths, and Distributions of Meat

Burchardus. They say there is to be a wedding today. Have you heard anything about it, Albin?

Albinus. I have.

Burchardus. We must see that we get some food from this wedding.

Albinus. As to food, I have no worries about it, for yesterday I provided for myself the wherewithal to spend the day comfortably; but I am sorry that I cannot see the dancing in the theater after the feast.

Burchardus. What prevents you from seeing it?

Albinus. Perhaps you do not know that on this day baths are promised us free by the generosity of some benefactor. Do you think it would be advisable to miss the baths for the sake of seeing the dances?

Burchardus. Say, if you had not reminded me, I should have forgotten it entirely, and

should not have remembered the distribution of meat which is a custom on this day. May the bride and groom prosper in their nuptials. Let us attend to the things that concern us.

DIALOGUE XIII

SIXTUS AND ALEXANDER

They Argue About Mental Superiority

Sixtus. You are lucky, Alex, for your mind is as fertile as it is keen.

Alexander. I haven't a mind altogether cursed, thank God, but still not so keen as you think. It happens, I don't know how, that we are never satisfied with what is ours; we look up to the things of others.

Sixtus. And you, as I hear, long for something else.

Alexander. Why not? Since I think my memory utterly lax and not tenacious enough; for although I easily comprehend the things that are taught, I do not retain what I have learned without great effort.

Sixtus. On the contrary, I comprehend with difficulty, but what I learn I retain for a very long time; and, as I see it, you have an impressionable mind, while mine is like rock. You easily impress anything on wax, but all trace of the impression immediately vanishes; but what is engraved with some labor on rock remains carved for many centuries.

ALEXANDER. You make an accurate comparison, but it disturbs me that you see a great many people of all kinds endowed with fertile minds, but on the other hand of such unseemly conduct that you may properly say that their minds are poorly housed.

SIXTUS. I believe that to be an old saying, and to have been said a long time ago of Galba, a man so misshapen as to be a monster.

ALEXANDER. Very rightly, nor have I turned inaptly to that, I think.

DIALOGUE XIV

SERVIUS AND SULPICIUS

The Morning Bells, and Immoderate Sleep

Servius. Why don't you get up, Sulpicius? The bells have already given the last signal for the daybreak service, and you are not unaware by how great a throng this service is carried out, so that we shall be completely disgraced if we are not there in time.

Sulpicius. I shall get up immediately, although I feel as if my head were still heavy with sleep. Would that I might sleep to satiety! Today I should like to imitate those Horatian youths to whom it seemed fine to sleep until midday.[1]

Servius. But I shall not wait for you any longer, lest this delay get me a whipping. I am going there now; follow when you like, or sleep at your peril.

[1] *Epistola*, I, ii, 30: "*cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies.*" (Macleane edition, *op. cit.*, p. 562.)

SULPICIUS. I shall go with you at once. Don't be in such a hurry.

SERVIUS. I linger no longer; this is no place for joking. We shall trifle after dinner, where according to custom, relaxation from our studies is permitted.

DIALOGUE XV

HENRICUS AND FRIDERICUS

Concerning Games

Henricus. Are you going to play ball with us, Fred? Or do you prefer to compete in the race with these fellows?

Fridericus. I prefer to take a walk with some congenial friend or other.

Henricus. Won't you play ball for a little while first? Afterwards we shall go for a walk with you.

Fridericus. But I'm no good at this game, for I can't throw a ball well, nor catch one with a sure enough hand.

Henricus. There is nothing for you to worry about on that account; a little practice will show you well enough what to do. But if you refuse altogether, let us play a less difficult game with a little bowling-ball.[1]

Fridericus. If you wish it, I don't refuse, although I know I shall get nothing but the laughter of those looking on. Although I

[1]The ancient game of bowling a ball toward a peg or hole.

repeatedly make mistakes, if I hit it at all, it is more by accident than by skill.

Henricus. In this game, it is not very important whether you win or lose; for one's life is not at stake, nor is it played for money.

DIALOGUE XVI

IULIANUS AND DAMIANUS

Investigations of Offenses Which are Conducted in the Schools on Friday

Iulianus. Ah, Damian, the day is back again, which I think no less unlucky and execrable with us than was formerly that one of the Romans on which, in the battle of Cannae, so many thousands of Romans were slaughtered by Hannibal.[1]

Damianus. Why so? Does something evil threaten the school on this day?

Iulianus. Don't you know, you who are especially experienced in schools for so many years?

Damianus. How can I know the customs of this school? I have only recently come here.

Iulianus. Investigations are made in the school today, just as in some place of torture.

Damianus. What are you talking about?

Iulianus. Today each one of us is compelled to pay the penalty for all the offenses he has in any way committed during the entire week.

[1]Battle of Cannae, 216 B.C.

DAMIANUS. Can the instructors know what we have committed?

IULIANUS. In some way they find out everything, so that nothing can be concealed from them.

DAMIANUS. How so? Are they skilled in divination?

IULIANUS. Not at all, but they find it out in another way, for they give this duty to a few secretly chosen for reporting and accusing us, their own comrades, so that we can't do anything at all safely. It is always to be feared lest someone of this kind of *Corycaei* may overhear us; and be the wolf in the fable,[2] present among us without our knowledge, to report to the preceptor like a hired traitor.[3]

[2]*Lupus in fabula.* See Otto, A. *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 199-200.

[3]School and university statutes from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries refer frequently to the appointment of *lupi* (wolves) or *Corycaei*, i.e., students whose duty it was to report those who spoke the vernacular or failed to observe the rules concerning conduct. The *signum Latinitatis et morum* is mentioned again and again. See Koldewey, *op. cit.*, I, pp. lxvii, lxxviii, 108, 111, 135; II, pp. 85, 98, 615; *Manuale scholarium*, Ch. XI; Meyer, K. *Die Schulordnung des Gymnasiums der freten Reichstadt Nordhausen am Harz vom Jahre 1583*, in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, II (Berlin, 1892), pp. 71, 96, 113; Müller, J. *Vor- und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen*, Berlin, 1885-86. 2 vols. (*Sammlung selten gewordener pädagogischen Schriften*, XII, and XIII), II, p. 186; Reissinger, K. *Dokumente zur Geschichte der humanistischen Schulen im Gebiet der Bayerischen Pfalz* (Berlin, 1910-11.

DAMIANUS. Perhaps this is what I hear called the "wolf," for that is the only name frequently mentioned in the school where I was before.

IULIANUS. He is that sneaky wolf for whom we unlucky ones have no less hatred than sheep which tremble in the presence of that same wild animal.

DAMIANUS. I fear lest he report us today; so it is up to me to plan so that, if I am guilty, I may either clear myself or get off with a slight penalty.

2 vols. in *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XLVII and XLIX), I, pp. 118, 229, 244, 249, 310; II, p. 397.

"The name comes from Cape Κώρυχος, in Cilicia, the inhabitants of which were called Κωρυχατοι and who were proverbially in antiquity Κωρυχατος ἠχροάσατο; for the *Corycaei* were accustomed to spy out the cargoes and sailing-directions of the ships which landed at their cape, pass on this information to their neighbors, the Myonnesian pirates, and then plunder the ships in company with them. For that reason, in ancient times, a listener or a spy was called Korykaios, and this designation was applied in the sixteenth century to the spies among the students." (Reissinger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 229, n. 1.)

Corycaeus auscultavit was a Roman saying. See Strabo, XIV, i, 32, in Müller, C., and Dübner, F., editors. *Strabonis geographica* (Paris, 1853-77. 2 vols.), I, p. 550; and Cicero, *Epistola ad Atticum*, X, xviii (Baiter and Kayser edition, *op. cit.*, X, p. 269): "From now on I shall not write to tell you what I am going to do, but what I have done; for all the *Corycaei* seem to listen to what I say."

DIALOGUE XVII

PETRUS AND PAULUS

They Have a Great Desire for the Feast Day, and They Talk of Bathing Their Heads

Petrus. How I wish this day were over, so that after so many hardships of the week, and a two day fast besides, it may at last be possible to get some meat at the feast.

Paulus. You are very impatient, Pete, if you can't wait a half day after waiting almost a whole year. What will you do when you have to abstain from meat for forty whole days?

Petrus. You chide justly, but in some way or other the nearer the feast is, the more am I tormented by desire for it. Have you anything else to say? I am going from here to the barber-shop, to have my head treated with a lotion.

Paulus. I, too, should have my head washed if I could pay the barber's fee for the lotion; but I have only a farthing.

Petrus. It is enough. I myself do not bathe very often, although occasionally I indulge

in these extravagances. I hardly bathe six times in the course of the year.

PAULUS. But you frequently wash the dirt from your head. They say that by cleansing the body, the mind is rendered more brilliant as well as purer.

PETRUS. They say that, because they place the seat of knowledge in the head, namely in the abode of reason. Let's go quickly, then.

PAULUS. Whenever you please.

DIALOGUE XVIII

GEORGIUS AND CONRADUS

Songs, and the Feast of St. Martin

Georgius. Come, Conrad, with what song shall we collect our handouts this winter? In this city, it is the custom for several students in a group to entertain with vocal compositions at the banquets of the rich.

Conradus. That will be for you to find out, for you have skill in things musical, and are better acquainted with this school than I.

Georgius. Since you delegate this care to me, I shall think up something that is not too common. But do you know what is generally done a week from today?

Conradus. What?

Georgius. The preliminary feast of St. Martin will be then.[1]

Conradus. What then?

Georgius. Then there is an abundant harvest for us students, since on the evening of that

[1]The feast of St. Martin (of Tours), Nov. 11, was a joyous occasion.

day not only are edibles given us more liberally, according to custom, but we also receive from door to door the alms given to the needy.

CONRADUS. That suits me pretty well, for I hope to scrape together enough to enable me to get through the winter more comfortably.

GEORGIUS. I hope the same thing; so, see to it that you are here on time.

DIALOGUE XIX

MARTINUS AND VALERIUS

The Violation of a Fast, and the Power of St. Catherine, Patroness of Studies

Martinus. What are you doing, foulest of all?[1]

Valerius. Why are you so angry with me? I've done nothing but eat my breakfast. Do you consider breakfast a crime?

Martinus. As if it were not a serious offense in a Christian to violate the sanctity of a fast!

Valerius. Is a fast appointed for today? Tell me, in whose name?

Martinus. Impious one, don't you know that the feast of St. Catherine, patroness of the arts, must be observed?[2]

Valerius. But I had not considered that the day before a feast was sacred by an ordinance of the church.

[1] *Quid agis, omnium impurissime?* The reader familiar with student colloquialisms may prefer another rendering.

[2] Feast of St. Catherine (of Alexandria), Nov. 25. St. Catherine was a patroness of studies.

MARTINUS. What then? Custom is received as law, and although it may not be a custom for us, however, who pursue learning, over which this virgin presides, this day has been established as a most sacred fast.

VALERIUS. I shall fast then, following this hearty breakfast; and I shall not even hope for an elaborate luncheon, and, as I hear said commonly, to feed badly twice during the day is as good as a fast. However, to speak frankly with you, I have always thought that Christ was the true patron of learning, since he is frequently celebrated in the name of wisdom in church services.

MARTINUS. You are trying to introduce some novelties. But I prefer to walk in the path common to all.

VALERIUS. You haven't heard that saying of Pythagoras: do not walk in the common path.

MARTINUS. You are a nuisance. Go your way, I'll go mine.

DIALOGUE XX

HIPPOLYTUS AND CLETUS

They Bewail the Discomforts of Winter

Hippolytus. O how happy are they who are rich enough to sit at home by the fireplace, or in a heated winter-residence.

Cletus. How unhappy are we in so many respects, miserable ones, who, with no furs, on the contrary provided with almost no clothing against the hardship of cold, are compelled to seek food from door to door in the midst of rain, snow and ice! But this bit from Horace comforts me:

"He who would reach the goal and win
the race
Toiled much, bore much in youth from
heat and cold,
Abstained from love and wine . . ."[1]

If our end should be like theirs in other respects, there would be no reason why I should not call God unjust who administers human affairs so unfairly.

Hippolytus. Be silent! Do not utter anything blasphemous against God!

[1] *Ars. poetica*, 412-14. (Macleane edition, *op. cit.*, p. 728.)

DIALOGUE XXI

LUCANUS AND STATIUS

The Feast of St. Nicholas, and the Election of a Bishop

Statius. What news do you bring us, Luke?

Lucanus. Nothing, but I am calling on you so that we may discuss matters of common interest.

Statius. Your arrival is pleasing to me. Sit down here with us.

Lucanus. Thank you, I shall. Do you know what is usually done among our people at the feast of St. Nicholas?

Statius. How could I know? I've never been there.

Lucanus. Then I shall tell you in a few words: those who attend school there choose someone of their own group as bishop, by order of the rector, and conduct him to his lodgings with great pomp, and at the appointed time lead him into the church.[1]

[1]In many places the election of the boy-bishop took place on St. Nicholas' Day, Dec. 6. Some schools celebrated St. Gregory's Day in this fashion. "He hath put down the mighty

STATIUS. What advantages does this new, and fictitious bishop enjoy?

LUCANUS. I don't know unless it is followed by a banquet provided at the expense of someone whose name is unknown to me, and very elaborately carried out.

STATIUS. And meantime, while he is in that office, is he exempt from studying, or is he, like others, subject to discipline?

LUCANUS. Exactly in the same way, since he is no more a bishop than are those kings who play the characters of Agamemnon and Priam in tragedies.

STATIUS. I should not desire any such honor for myself.

from their seats, and hath exalted the humble and the meek." School-statutes prohibiting the practice indicate that the "humble and the meek" often abused their temporary privileges. See Koldewey, *op. cit.*, I, pp. xxxii-xxxiv, 9-13; and Specht, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-29.

DIALOGUE XXII

IACOBUS AND THOMAS

They Discuss Various Shows

Iacobus. What have you heard is going to happen tomorrow?

Thomas. Nothing, except what is accustomed to be done on other occasions.

Iacobus. Nothing in the way of shows?

Thomas. Nothing at all. Have any been announced?

Iacobus. Various things are announced. I hear that there are to be two rope-walkers, who will display the wonder of their skill tomorrow. Then I have seen some Russians who, for a small fee, will exhibit huge bears dancing to the sounds of trumpets.

Thomas. I shall devise some way of being there, even if I have to sneak in.

Iacobus. You will hardly be able to, since those who do not pay are kicked out.

Thomas. I'll trick the gateman.

Iacobus. In addition, the leader himself will exhibit, in the arena, several pairs of horse-

men who will engage each other in combat with pointed lances. After this, the same horsemen armed from head to foot, whom they call cataphracts, will march around.[1] These, in troops, without any order or plan, will rush together and throw each other from their horses in an exchange of blows. The circus, which is fenced all around, is strewn with manure lest those who fall be seriously injured.

THOMAS. What pleasure do they get out of such a furious and unpleasant combat?

IACOBUS. What? There are no splendors which they do not despise for this pleasure, especially because by this sham battle they are prepared and inspired, as it were, for serious combats with the enemy.

THOMAS. Whenever it may be, I shall be present to see how it is done.

[1] *quos cataphractos vocant*, i.e., mailed-ones.

DIALOGUE XXIII

CONRADUS AND AEGIDIUS

They Discuss Fasts

Conradus. May the devil take those, whoever they are, who fill up almost the whole year with fasts. It is not even enough for them to be in a continuous fast for the forty days dedicated to Christ, unless in addition they torment us a few days in each quarter of the year. The week to be spent in fasting is at hand again. But if a dinner were prepared for me with such sumptuousness as for those who introduced these fasts, I should not take them so seriously. Now when I satisfy my wrinkled stomach hardly once in the whole year, I am tormented besides with fasts.

Aegidius. Why are you so angry, Conrad, against the holy fathers of the church? They have instituted all these things for a good purpose, not for us who are not tempted to commit these offenses because of our age, and cannot because of our poverty, but for people like themselves who are rich and voluptuous.

Conradus. How do you know these things?

Aegidius. Last year I heard it from a certain

preacher who said that long and immoderate fasts greatly displeased St. Jerome in his youth, although he was a zealous exactor of fasts. Lest, as he wrote, the feet should fail before they begin to run, only so much fasting is to be imposed as we are able to bear.[1]

CONRADUS. I am grateful to St. Jerome, who protects us poor and unwillingly hungry ones.

[1]*Epistola ad Nepotianum: "Modum in jejuniis.—Tantum tibi jejuniorum modum impone, quantum ferre potes."* (Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, XXII, p. 537.) See also *Epistola ad Laetam: "Displicent mihi in teneris maxime aetatibus, longa et immoderata jejunia."* (Migne, *Patrol.*, XXII, p. 875.)

DIALOGUE XXIV

PENIUS AND FRANCISCUS

They Discuss the Christmas Holiday

Penius. I am glad and sorry, Frank, that the feast of the Nativity is approaching. I am glad because this feast brings all kinds of joyous and festive things with it; I am sorry, on the other hand, because there is exhausting labor for us students in the solemn chants to be learned for this celebration. Besides, it is cold every day in the church. Lastly, I fear that if detained by too deep a sleep, I neglect the morning service, I should bring punishment upon myself.

Franciscus. What you say is true; however, since we accept this mode of life, we must be vigilant and do everything well: for we have endured even worse things than these. God will put an end to these things also, so that I may be at leisure to retire from these labors of ours into the cultivation of piety.

Penius. We certainly should be more completely spoiled by indulgence if we did not put up with so much annoyance for Christ himself, for whose sake so many infants were subjected to the cruel swords of barbarous

soldiers; the memory of which is associated with this feast.[1]

FRANCISCUS. But I'd like to know why it is that the priests serve wine from a consecrated cup in the popular feast of St. John.[2]

PENIUS. I don't know, except that I have heard that this cup serves as an antidote to the dangers of poison.

FRANCISCUS. As for me, I don't care to drink hemlock with such confidence, even if this cup is sacred, as you say.

[1]Feast of the Holy Innocents, Dec. 28. See *Matthew*, II, 16.
[2]Feast of St. John (the Younger), Dec. 27.

DIALOGUE XXV

BRUTUS AND PETRUCIUS

They Talk About the Coming In of the New Year, and About Sending Gifts

Brutus. I wish you a prosperous and happy New Year, Petrucius.

Petrucius. And to repay you with interest, I hope that not only this year which is now beginning, but all the rest of life may be blessed for you.

Brutus. However, I should prefer to have you give me a little present rather than this magnificent and solemn wish.

Petrucius. But what gifts can Petrucius give, who, except for a few books, has nothing at all?

Brutus. You may give me a book, since it is highly fitting that a man devoted to letters should also make a gift of letters.

Petrucius. In the generosity of my affection for you, I would make the expenditure, but if you are at all my friend, you will not urge me.

Brutus. I was joking with you, and I wanted to find out how you felt toward me, since I do not value these customs highly myself, as I have often heard that they were bequeathed to us by the heathen. I have heard that it is like this: in certain regions of the Christian world, on the day before this feast, which is sacred to the Three Magi, they elect individual kings in every home. It appears that, up to the present time, all these things have been derived from the saturnalia of the pagans.

Petrucius. Since you have mentioned the Three Magi, I wish that wherever you either hear or read about it, you would explain to me, first what it means; because some call those rich men kings, others call them Magi, which latter I thought was said only of enchanters and sleight-of-hand performers, for, as you know, we use both in the service; next, why this feast is called by the Greek word Epiphany.[1]

Brutus. I shall tell you what I have heard about these things partly from the preceptor, and partly from a preacher last year. In the first place, the Chaldeans do not, as is popularly supposed, give to magicians the name

[1] ἐπιφανια.

Magi, but to learned men well versed in the mysteries of nature; their profession is indeed called natural magic by some Latins, but since this subject, not content with its own proper field, in the passage of time has degenerated into a curious demonology, the appellation of a most honorable profession has begun to be disgraceful. However, because they were called kings in the prophecy of the psalm, it is not to be accepted that they are kings today, that is so many possessors of power; but in some way they exercise magisterial authority and are removed from the mass of the common people. And so Hesiod calls corrupt judges and lawyers "gift-devouring kings."[2] Besides, among the old Greek theologians like Gregory Nazianzen, I hear that this feast of the Nativity used to be called Epiphany[3] because God appeared as man in it. I think the reason why they celebrate the feast of the Magi in this name is that the star appeared to them as a guide. You know what I have heard concerning this matter. If you desire more, ask the more learned.

[2]Βασιλέας δωροφαγους. See *Opera et dies*, 261-62. Lehrs, F. S., editor. *Hesiodi Carmina . . . Graece et latine* (Paris, 1878), p. 36.

[3]Ἐπιφανια. See Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio*, xxxviii, *In Theophania sive Natalitia Salvatoris*. (Migne, *Patrol., Series graeca*, XXXVI, 310-12).

DIALOGUE XXVI

VALERIUS AND NICOLAUS

They Discuss the Carrying of Candles at the Feast of the Blessed Virgin

Valerius. Why haven't you a candle, Nick?[1]

Nicolaus. How should I have any? I haven't even money enough to buy food. If I were at home among my own people, my mother would prepare some trifles of this sort for me.

Valerius. Do you dare to call these sacred things trifles?

Nicolaus. Why not? Nor should I immediately become a heretic even if I do not carry a candle, especially since I haven't the means with which to buy one; for I should think it would be much more pleasing to Christ if the expense which we incur in the purchase of candles were diverted to the use of the poor.

Valerius. But this is a praiseworthy custom.

Nicolaus. It is, to be sure, but not to the extent that on account of it better and greater Christian obligations ought to be neglected.

[1]Feast of the Blessed Virgin, Feb. 2.

VALERIUS. You are right, for I myself have often laughed at the simple piety of little women who, by placing thirty-six candles before the cross every day, are satisfied that they are thus deserving of heaven, no matter how much the poor suffer hunger in the streets.

DIALOGUE XXVII

FABIANUS AND FRANCISCUS

They Talk About the Christian Bacchanalia

Fabianus. What is the reason, Frank, that you didn't come to school yesterday?

Franciscus. I had such a pain in my head that I couldn't endure the light.

Fabianus. You excuse your ailment well, since it is already an old story that if students shrink from the fatigue of study or fear the rod, they allege illness as an excuse for their laziness, so that now-a-days scholastic-illness has become a saying for pretense and deceit.[1]

Franciscus. I don't know what others do; certainly, as far as I am concerned, I would rather suffer the rod ten times than have that pain again, although I haven't yet entirely recovered. But how do you happen to be

[1] *scholasticus morbus*. Cf. *Manuale scholarium*, Ch. XVI:
"*Cam.* The dog-days are near at hand; I feel it in my head.
"*Bar.* In what way do you feel it?
"*Cam.* Because I'm getting a loathing for study.
"*Bar.* I think all days are dog-days for you.
"*Cam.* Why?
"*Bar.* Because you seldom have any desire for study."

here with impunity? Isn't this the hour for listening to the preceptor?

FABIANUS. It is, but the preceptor gave us a three days' recess on account of these imitation bacchanalia of the Christians; he gave orders, with a heavy penalty assigned if anyone did not obey, that no one in imitation of the handicraftsmen, should run about the streets disguised in a mask, since this folly is disgraceful in all good people, especially Christians.[2]

FRANCISCUS. I've had a mask ready at home for a long time, for this purpose.

FABIANUS. Take care what you do, for one must be cautious about masks. But he was more liberal with regard to drinking-bouts and public parties.

FRANCISCUS. I shall obey; otherwise, after forbidden joys, we shall weep bitterly.

[2]The three days preceding Lent were given over to merry-making. Student excesses were the rule at this time. A University of Leipzig statute of 1495 (*Libellus formularis*, No. 49) forbids the students, *tempore carnispriviali*, to go about in masks, or carry swords, "under penalty of three florins or one month in prison." (Zarncke, F., editor. *Die Statutenbücher der Universität Leipzig*, p. 111.)

DIALOGUE XXVIII

VITUS AND SEVERUS

Concerning Fasting and Confession, as They are Called

Vitus. What does it mean, Severus, that you thus pace to and fro, so deeply immersed in thought? You appear to me to be considering a troublesome matter.

Severus. You ask as if this very time itself could not tell you what I am doing.

Vitus. Do you torment yourself with frequent fasts, that you show such a face?

Severus. Not at all, but I am trying to recall those things which I, irreligious and ungrateful, have committed against God my maker and deliverer. This is the time when the edict of the church demands that we diligently pour forth our sins into the safe ears of the priests, so that having been taught by them concerning the doctrine of sin, that is, both the serious and the unimportant, we may live more circumspectly hereafter.

Vitus. I, quite indifferent, haven't even once given thought to a matter of such importance.

SEVERUS. You are no better on that account. For we must have done with this duty early, so that, freed from this burden of confessing our sins, than which nothing is more weighty, we may more freely participate in the feast of St. Gregory the patron of studies.[1]

VITUS. But what, after all, is done in this feast?

SEVERUS. Since, as I have said, this saint is supposed to preside over studies, boys who desire to spend their lives in learning, give their names, on this day, into this service of ours, under favorable auspices, as they hope.

VITUS. When will this feast take place?

SEVERUS. Ten days from now, I believe.

VITUS. Since you recommend it, I myself shall seek the sacred oracle, as some very learned men call it, into whose bosom I shall pour out my sins.

SEVERUS. If you like, the opportunity shall be given of approaching him whom I myself have found diligent time and again.

[1]The feast of St. Gregory (Pope Gregory I), March 12, was an occasion for merry-making. St. Gregory was a patron of studies.

VITUS. But I prefer some indolent one, whom I shall be able to cheat without much effort in some of my sins.

SEVERUS. That is not acting like a Christian, but like a fox. However, you'll see.

DIALOGUE XXIX

MARCELLUS AND ANTONIUS

MARCELLUS. Salutations, Tony.

ANTONIUS. The same to you, Marcellus.

MARCELLUS. Why are you running around so? Whom are you looking for?

ANTONIUS. I am looking for someone who will go into the country with me, and be my companion in begging for eggs, as is the custom.

MARCELLUS. But that's an improper and unbecoming habit for one who devotes himself to study. What could be more degrading than to wander about the wretched huts of the peasants for the sake of a dozen eggs, and in the meantime miss the lectures at home?

ANTONIUS. But how shall I appease my hunger if I may not seek food anywhere?

MARCELLUS. Here in the city you will be able to get all that is necessary; you might manage to live a few days on the kindness of those people by whose benefactions you get food for the whole year.

ANTONIUS. I tell you, you're mistaken; you are so serious that I don't wish to have anything to do with you. You are wisdom itself.

MARCELLUS. Very well, very well, as you please.

DIALOGUE XXX

PAULUS AND LUCAS

They Discuss the Communion of the Saints

Paulus. Come, Luke, let us purge ourselves in every way, and with the broom of repentance cleanse ourselves from all the baseness of sin, lest with dirty hands we approach the table of that great prince who can destroy us with a nod, and receive that heavenly and wonderful bread with unclean mouth and spirit even, concerning which the rector yesterday discoursed so piously and fruitfully.

Lucas. I shall strive for this to the best of my ability. But, what did the preceptor say about this mystery? I did not go.

Paulus. Miserable one, who neglects such things!

Lucas. Busy elsewhere, I could not be present; so, I earnestly entreat you not to begrudge me something so beneficial.

Paulus. He said that there was such great virtue in this marvelous food that those who take part in this ceremony are made one body and one spirit with Christ, and so they are transformed into God the son of God; but if

any unclean one touches it, he does not experience benefit, but utter destruction of soul. He exhorted us all, therefore, sinners that we are, to pass these days on the cross with Christ, in order that more happily and with a sincerer joy we might pass into eternal life with Him. This he said was signified by this approaching feast, that the Hebrew Passover celebrates the passing over from the death of sins to the life of virtue.

Lucas. In the meantime, what becomes of the cakes and other good things which they have been accustomed to prepare for this feast, which is near at hand? Haven't you heard anything about them?

Paulus. Away with you! Your mind is now on cakes, when at this very time, many years ago, Christ was in peril of his life. They will give a word in its place to cakes and other inducements of this sort; now, we should be solicitous about other food.

DIALOGUE XXXI

URBANUS AND KILIANUS

They Talk about the Purification of the City and Fields

Urbanus. Why is it, Kilian, that they clean all the streets and by-ways with such great pains? Is some personage coming here?

Kilianus. No, but something will take place tomorrow for which this preparation is fittingly made.

Urbanus. What is it, by the way?

Kilianus. Tomorrow is the appointed day for the city to celebrate Corpus Christi, when the bishop here bears the most sacred host around the city walls, with all the priests and the entire population following at his heels.[1]

Urbanus. Perhaps there will be public ceremonies which some not inappropriately call *amburbialia*.[2]

[1] A Nürnberg school-statute of 1343 required the students to participate: "Am suntag post corporis Christi sullen sie mit der procession gen." Müller, J. *Vor- und frühreformatorische Schulordnungen, op. cit.*, II, p. 19.

[2] *Amburbialia*, the festival of blessing and purifying the city, held on Feb. 2. A procession of the people, led by the clergy,

KILIANUS. There will be.

URBANUS. But when are the *ambarvalia* conducted?[3] That is what they are called which were known as *Robigalia* and *Palilia* among the pagans.[4]

KILIANUS. Day after tomorrow.

URBANUS. Shall we be permitted to be present at these ceremonies?

KILIANUS. Certainly, and also the entire order of the clergy.

URBANUS. But among our people, the farmers ride about the fields on horse, preceded by the offering.

KILIANUS. Each region has its own custom which is taken as law.

three times around the city. See Wissowa, G. *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1912), pp. 101, 142.

[3] *Ambarvalia*, the festival of blessing the fields, held on May 29. The various orders of the clergy lead the people three times around the fields. See Wissowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 143, 562.

[4] *Robigalia*, the festival held on April 25 in honor of *Robigus* who protected corn from blight (*robigo*). See Wissowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, n. 5, 196.

Palilia, the festival held on April 21 in honor of *Pales*, deity of shepherds. See Wissowa, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

DIALOGUE XXXII

LEOPOLDUS AND SEVERUS

They Talk About Presentations of Comedies and Tragedies

Leopoldus. Do you know, Severus, what spectacles are usually produced tomorrow, which is a week from the most sacred festival of Corpus Christi?

Severus. How do I know, since I was not here last year?

Leopoldus. But you could have heard from others.

Severus. I am not accustomed to make much inquiry about the things that do not concern me. But, tell me, what are you talking about?

Leopoldus. Actors present a tragedy of the sufferings which Christ the Savior endured for our sake.[1] Several have been chosen for it.

Severus. Are all the parts taken?

Leopoldus. All, every one.

[1]The Passion Play.

Severus. As for me, I prefer to act the part of the most hardened soldier or executioner rather than that of Christ; for although, as I infer, the thing will be fictitiously presented, nevertheless it will be impossible to prevent it, but the one who acts the part of Christ is compelled to receive many injuries.

Leopoldus. I would rather be a spectator in this play than an actor, if dangerous things occur at times.

DIALOGUE XXXIII

BASILIUS AND GREGORIUS

They Talk About Wearing a Crown, and Various Things of That Sort

Basilius. Where are you going in such a hurry, Gregory? And where did you get that crown of roses?

Gregorius. I am coming from the market, Basil, where I purchased this garland for a farthing.

Basilius. For what purpose?

Gregorius. It is my intention to wear this crown on my head. Doesn't it seem cheap to you that so many roses can be obtained for one little coin?

Basilius. Aren't you ashamed, you great ass, to walk about publicly crowned in the manner of boys?

Gregorius. Why should I be ashamed? The great by birth, and even gray-haired men wear it.

Basilius. Then they are no longer great; perhaps they have borrowed that custom

from the effeminate Greeks, whom I have heard were called "the long haired ones" by Homer.[1]

GREGORIUS. I don't know where they got it; but I do know what they wear.

BASILIUS. Do they wear roses only, while you intertwine at the same time violets and lilies with even rosemary and marjoram?

GREGORIUS. They combine appropriately flowers and ornaments of all sorts.

BASILIUS. Let them do as they like; I don't care at all for these trifles; much less would I spend any money on them. Even if I had plenty of money, I should prefer to buy fresh butter; this would serve as food, while as for garlands, if you make an exception of the fragrance, there is certainly no use in them.

[1] χαρηχομόωντας. See the Iliad, II, lines 51, 65, 323, 443, 472: "the Achaians with long-flowing hair." Munro, D. B., and Allen, T. W., editors. *Homeri opera.* (London, 1902. 5 vols.)

DIALOGUE XXXIV

RAPHAEL AND SERVATIUS

They Talk about the Feast of St. Urban

Raphael. Would that I were permitted to have wings, to fly away home from here! For, I greatly desire to spend tomorrow at home. I should not refuse to purchase that ability at a high price.

Servatius. What does this mean? Do you desire, by divesting yourself of your human character, to degenerate into a speechless bird? What has happened recently that demands such a sudden flight of you?

Raphael. Do you ask? Don't you know that tomorrow the feast of St. Urban will be celebrated?[1]

Servatius. I know it, but what of it?

Raphael. Among us they worship this saint with almost the same customs and ceremonies with which formerly the pagans worshipped Bacchus, so that what were Bacchanalia with them, with us are almost Urbanalia.

[1]Feast of St. Urban (Pope Urban I), May 25.

SERVATIUS. But for what purpose do Christians do these things?

RAPHAEL. They think that when the saint is thus propitiated, grapes grow more abundantly.

SERVATIUS. O stupid men, who think themselves deserving of the favor of the saints by drinking-bouts and intoxication, when they may please God the ruler by abstinence and sobriety!

DIALOGUE XXXV

CORNELIUS AND GULIELMUS

They Talk about the Pleasures and Drawbacks of Various Seasons

Cornelius. Nothing is always favorable in every respect.

Gulielmus. What are you annoyed about, Cornelius?

Cornelius. Am I not justly annoyed who find myself exposed to so many misfortunes in this dirty world?

Gulielmus. Why is it that you can complain more than everybody else, unless perchance you are calling poverty to account?

Cornelius. Just as if that is the only misfortune, although it is bad enough. I believe you can't help seeing that there is nothing that is not a misfortune. We are shattered by the cold of winter; now heat, or the fury of the dog-days tortures one. Meanwhile, because of the high price of provisions and our poverty, we labor in hunger and thirst; for a time I pass over in silence the flies and gnats that fly about us and suck our blood; at night we wage war against bed-bugs and

fleas. In addition, now lightning flashes, now thunderbolts and now thunder terrify us miserable ones. Soon, autumn will pour forth many kinds of maladies, sometimes the plague, most pestilential of all diseases. Add that at this favorable season, many of our crowd, since they are foolish and wish to bathe in cold water, lose their lives in the rapid and deep streams.

GULIELMUS. Ungrateful to nature, you sum up accurately the inconveniences which the summer months bring with them, but you do not mention the advantages which they offer at the same time.

CORNELIUS. What are they?

GULIELMUS. Do you ask? First, there is not much need of fire or clothing; then, this season provides so many kinds of produce: winter-wheat, wheat, barley, many legumes, beans, peas, vetches, many fruits: pears, plums, medlars, nuts, walnuts, hazel-nuts, chestnuts, wines, above all the very sweet must. Do these gifts of summer and autumn seem small to you? To me, you seem to be of that crowd of whom Seneca has aptly said: "No one writes down his gifts in a ledger."[1] Finally,

[1] *De beneficiis*, I, ii, 3. Haase, F., editor. *L. Annaei Senecae Opera* (Leipzig, 1865-71. 3 vols.), II, p. 3.

it is ever to be considered that God, the author of nature, was pleased that in this world there should be nothing altogether satisfactory to man, in order that we may aspire to that other fatherland from the disquiet of this world.

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APPENDIX

A SCHOOL-DIALOGUE OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

It may not be inappropriate to remind the student of Renaissance education that the school-dialogues of the period occasionally appeared with vernacular parallels. The most familiar colloquies of the sixteenth century were written in Latin, the language of the schools. Such titles as the *Colloquia familiaria* of Erasmus (1519), the *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* of Vives (1539), and the *Colloquia scholastica* of Corderius (1564) recall the vogue enjoyed by these popular texts, each of which went through more than one hundred editions.

The briefest of the dialogues, and the first to be published with a vernacular translation was the *Collocutiones duorum puerorum de rebus puerilibus ad invicem loquentium*.[1] It appeared, with a Middle Low German parallel, shortly after 1500, and the copy that has come down to us was printed as an addendum to a volume of Hermannus Torrentinus' *Hymni et sequentie*.[2] The text follows:

*Reprinted, with permission, from *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIII (April, 1924), pp. 289-293.

[1]Authorship unknown.

[2]*Hymni et sequentie cum diligenti difficiliorum vocabulorum interpretatione omnibus et scholasticis et ecclesiasticis cognitu necessaria Hermanni Torrentini de omnibus puritatis linguae latine studiosis quam optime meriti: Sequuntur collocutiones duorum puerum* (sic!). Undated, but shortly after 1500. See Bömer, A. *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten* (2 parts. Berlin, 1897), I, 67-69. Hermannus Torrentinus, or Hermann van Beek, of Zwoll, one of the Brethren of the Common Life, died c. 1520.

SYRISCUS, PETRELLUS

Syr. Unde venis, Petrelle?	Peterken, wan comstu?
Pet. E templo, Syrisce.	Uut die kerke.
Syr. Quid illic fecisti?	Wat hebstu daer ghedaen?
Pet. Turbinem circumegi.	Ich heb den bat ghedreven.
Syr. Hoc facere in templo minime decet.	Dat en beteemt niet datment in die kerke doe.
Pet. Id ipsum nunc vapulando didici.	Dat heb ic nu oeck mit slage gheleert.
Syr. Quo pacto?	Hoe ghinc dat toe?
Pet. Nam alter ex aedituis me ludentem offendit et apprehensum ita pugnis pulsavit, ut vix ingredi queam.	Die een van den kerckmesters vant my spelen ende heeft my soe myt vusten geslaghen, dat ic nauwe ghaen en kan.
Syr. Id mihi memorari quam monstrari malim.	Dat hoer ic seggen, dan ict my laet wyssen.
Pet. Credo equidem.	Dat gelove ic sekerlic wel.
Syr. Nihil mihi aliud novi aufers e templo?	Brendy ons anders nyet nywes uut die kerken?
Pet. Morio noster Heyno in sacrario fecit oletum.[3]	Heyn, onse dwaes, heeft in die sacristij ghedreten.
Syr. Id nasus resciscat tuus.	Dat moet u noese weten.
Pet. Ludamus nunc iuglandibus in scrobem.[4]	Laet ons nu myt walnoeten spelen in der kulen.
Syr. Ubi has iuglantes nactus es?	Waer hebstu die noeten gecreghen?

[3]The inclusion of such items in school-dialogues was not unusual. They are a characteristic of these "faithful accounts" of student-life. Cf. *Manuale scholarium* (trans. by Seybolt, R. F. Harvard Univ. Press, 1921), Ch. II; and the following from Murmellius' *Pappa puerorum* (Bömer, 69), 1513: "Joannes calceos meos comminxit . . . Cur librum meum conspuisti? . . . Cave tibi ne tantum potes, ut lectum nostrum convomas!"

[4]*Colloquiorum Maturini Corderii Galli* (ed. by Arcadius Avellanus, Phila., 1904), p. 135:

"*D.* Ubi sunt iuglandes tuae?
B. Quas iuglandes memoras?
D. Quas hodie praemio accepisti.
. . . . . .
B. Comedi eas, pro merenda.
D. Comedisti? O te miserum! Cur eas non potius ad ludendum conservasti?

Pet. Emi.
Syr. Quanti?
Pet. Tribus placcis aut paulo minoris.
Syr. Habuistine tantum pecuniae?
Pet. Non, verum oppigneravi pugillares meos.
Syr. Utinam id sciret pater tuus!
Pet. Cur id optas?
Syr. Si resciret, ipse redimeret.

Pet. Id mihi male verteret.

Syr. Qui? dic, sodes.
Pet. Nam pelle poenas penderem.
Syr. Quid tum? Crassi pellis es, floccifacis verbera.

Pet. Non magni curo, sed nunc pergamus ludere!

Syr. Non libet.
Pet. Quid tum libet?
Syr. Crustulum cum butiro.

Pet. Esuris semper?
Syr. Nihil hodie ientaculi sumpsi et parce meridiatus sum.
Pet. Non ergo mirum, si crustum optas pro vesperna.
Syr. At ego in cena omnia compensabo.
Pet. Quid commedes?
Syr. Colustrum, nam duas vaccas foetas habemus.

Pet. Atat, campana tertiam sonat horam! Alio properandum est!
Syr. Quo, Petrelle?

Ic heb se gecoeft.
Hoe duyr?
Om drie placken of een wenich min.
Haddi soe veel gelts?

Neen, mer ic heb myn scrijftafel te pande gheset.
Och of du vader dat wiste!

Waerom wonsschi dat?
Vernam hy dat, hy solde se verlossen.
Dat solde my qualic bekommen.

Secht, woe soe?
Ic solt mitten velle betalen.

Wats dan? Gy sijt soe dickhudich, ghy en past op gheen slaghe.
Ick en maeck daer gheen groet verck van, mer laet ons voert spelen!

Ten lust my niet.
Wat lust u dan?
En brug of een stuck broets myt botter.

Heb dy altijt honger?
Ick en heb huden niet onbeten ende te middaghe wenich geten.
Soe en ist oec gheen wonder, dattu een stucffs broets begheerts voor dijn vesper.
Ick salt tavent al verhalen.

Wat salstu eten?
Ick sal byst eten, want wij hebben twe koyen, die ghecalvt hebben.

Ganz peert, die clock slaet drie, wij moeten op een ander welt!
Waer hen, Peterken?

Pet. Quo nusquam magis invitus.	Daer ick neergent noeder en gae.
Syr. Ad scholamne?	Waer ter scolen?
Pet. Immo ad carcerem!	Ja, ten kerker!
Syr. Eho, quid ita? Scholam carcerem vocas?	Wat ny? Hoe soe? Heyt gy de schoel encn kerker te wesen?
Pet. An non carcer tibi videtur, qua nos magister velut in caveo clausos conservat?	Dunek u dat nyet een kerker te syn, daer ons die meester holt als in een holl?

For the convenience of the reader who is unfamiliar with Latin or Middle Low German, a translation[5] into English is appended:

SYRISCUS, PETRELLUS

Syr. Where are you coming from, Petrellus?
Pet. From church, Syriscus.
Syr. What did you do there?
Pet. I spun my top.
Syr. It is by no means proper to do that in church.
Pet. I found that out now by being flogged.
Syr. How did that happen?
Pet. One of the church-wardens found me playing, took hold of me, and hit me so hard with his fists that I can hardly walk.
Syr. I'd rather be told about that than shown.
Pet. I believe that.
Syr. Didn't you bring me any news from church?
Pet. That idiot Heinie has befouled the sacristy.
Syr. Your nose could find that out.
Pet. Let us play with walnuts in a hole.[6]
Syr. Where did you get the walnuts?
Pet. I bought them.
Syr. For how much?

[5]By R. F. S.

[6]*The Dialogues of Juan Luis Vives*, in *Tudor School-Boy Life* (trans. by Watson, F. London, 1908), p. 22: "The Game of Nuts . . . *Tull:* Let us play at nuts, at throwing them in holes."

Pet. For three placques, or a little less.[7]
Syr. Did you have that much money?
Pet. No, but I pawned my writing-tablets.
Syr. If your father knew this!
Pet. Why do you wish that?
Syr. If he should find it out, he would redeem them.
Pet. That would come back to me unpleasantly.
Syr. Why? Tell me.
Pet. I should pay the penalties with my skin.
Syr. What of that? You are so thick-skinned that you shouldn't care a straw for beatings.
Pet. I don't mind them much, but now let us go to play.
Syr. I don't want to.
Pet. What do you want?
Syr. A piece of bread with butter.
Pet. Are you always hungry?
Syr. I haven't had any breakfast today, and I had only a light luncheon.
Pet. Then I don't wonder that you want a piece of bread for supper.
Syr. But, I shall make up for all those things at dinner.
Pet. What will you eat?
Syr. Biestings, for we have two cows that have just calved.[8]
Pet. Ah! The bell is striking three o'clock! We ought to be hurrying to another place.
Syr. Where, Petrellus?
Pet. To the place where I am most unwilling to go.
Syr. To school?
Pet. Nay, rather to prison.
Syr. What! How so? Do you call school a prison?
Pet. Doesn't it seem like a prison to you, where the master keeps us shut up in a pen?

This little dialogue was designed to serve as an introduction to the Latin spoken in the schools. It was an elementary text-book, and, as in the better

[7]*Placci:* placars, plaquars (Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, VI, 340); Placke, eine kleine (flämische) Münze (Schiller, K., and Lübben, A. *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, III, 334).

[8]Biestings, beestings (colostrum), the first milk given by a cow after calving.

known colloquies of the day, the material sought to reproduce actual conditions of student-life. It was, therefore, a manual of information, in simple colloquial style, for beginners. Like its more voluminous contemporaries, it offers the student of today a glimpse of certain aspects of school-life in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

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